



“I have the satisfaction to know, that *Manchester itself will have to suffer* for its baseness in silently permitting you to bring forth Horse, Foot and Artillery, in order to prevent my entrance into the town.”—
MR. COBBETT'S Letter to Boroughreeve and Constables, 2d Dec. 1819.

TO THE
RADICALS OF MANCHESTER,

ON THE MEETING, HELD AT THE MANOR COURT-ROOM, IN
THAT TOWN, ON THURSDAY, THE 17TH OF AUGUST, 1826.

Burghclere,
Tuesday, 22nd Aug. 1826.

MY FRIENDS,

WHAT, then, the *rich* begin to cry out, at last, do they? LAVENDER, “Squire Lavender,” late an able London thief-taker, cannot induce these rich sufferers to hold their peace! Cannot make them see the “necessity of that *subordination*,” which they used to be, for everlasting inculcating as proper for you!

It is my design, my friends, to offer you some remarks on the proceedings of the Meeting above-mentioned; but, before I make the remarks, let me insert the newspaper *Report* of those proceedings. The occasion is important; the subjects, treated of in the speeches and the petition are important; and, therefore, though the Report is long, though it will demand some time to go through it with attention, it ought

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

to be read with the greatest care by every man, who shall think it worth while to read the remarks that are to follow it. But, before we read this Report; before *you and I* read it; before we, who had the *power-of-imprisonment Bill* passed against us, and SIX-ACTS passed against us; before WE read this Report, we ought to look back to the years 1817 and 1819, when scores of *petitioners* were, under the *bayonet*, marched as *malefactors* into the yard of the NEW BAILEY PRISON, and kept there under the rain for a whole day and night, in the winter, and when CANNING made the Honourable House ready to burst itself with *laughter* by joking about the "*revered and ruptured Ogden*," whose petition ought, by-the-by, to be read to CANNING once a month for the rest of his life. Yes, you and I, my friends, ought to look back to those years, when those who now petition were so *very silent*, to say the very best of their conduct. I beg you to look at my motto. The day of suffering, there spoken of, is come. It is come, at last; and, whatever *others* ought to feel for the fall of the *rich* of Manchester, no sorrow, on *their account*, is due from ME. They might think that they were acting rightly in backing their

"authorities" against me in 1819: nay, they might act rightly in doing this: but, at any rate, they were *my foes*; they were *that*, at least; and, therefore, though they may be entitled to the compassion of *others*, they are entitled to none from ME; and, none they have, any more than if they were so many of those cursed flies that are now daily tormenting my horses. "What! Do you," says some one, "*never forgive*?" Forgive? Yes, when offenders repent, and when they prove their repentance by making, or showing a desire to make, *atonement*. And, I, for my part, can discover, in the conduct of the parties here alluded to, no marks of any such desire. On the contrary, it appears to me, that the far greater part of them would almost as soon perish with hunger themselves, as to see that *parliamentary reform*, which would give you, and all of us, fair play. Let them perish, then, say I; and I wish them to perish to the last man, if they still persist in their opposition to *reform*.

But, more of this by-and-by: let me now insert the Report of the proceedings at this Meeting; for, though the *petition*, being, as it is, *silent* upon the subject of REFORM, will produce no effect; though it will get no an-

swer, and will hardly bring an intimation that it *has been received*; still the *speeches* are worth notice; and, as coming from Manchester, the whole thing forms the sign of a *change of some sort* being on the work. When I have inserted the Report, I shall remark on the matter in the order in which it lies before me.

This day a numerous Meeting of the inhabitants was held in the Manor Court-Room. At eleven o'clock the doors were thrown open, and the multitude outside were admitted. As soon as order and silence could be procured,

MR. BAXTER was unanimously called to the Chair, when he proceeded to address the Meeting to the following effect:—Gentlemen, I much regret that this place is not filled by some person more competent to preside in so numerous and respectable an assembly of the ley-payers of this important town; but I rely upon your indulgence and support, whilst to the best of my power, I endeavour to perform the duties required.—(Applause.) Custom has given more weight to public opinion, when that opinion has been expressed in meetings convened by the regular constituted authorities; but as it regards the town of Manchester, if the *Boroughreeve and Constables* are to be considered in that capacity, the public in general ought to be informed, what is notoriously known here to be the fact, that these officers are appointed by a small number of the friends of the Lord of the Manor's steward, that they are generally selected from amongst that portion of the inhabitants which would never allow a popular meeting, if it were in their

power to prevent it; and thus, this important and unrepresented town, the second in the kingdom, for its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and its extensive commerce, has been deprived of that influence in the State which it ought to maintain.—(Applause.) The gentlemen who signed the Requisition, and the public in general, have long and anxiously waited, expecting that the constituted authorities would do their duty by calling a meeting to make such representations to the Government as the emergency of the times required: their not having done so, at length induced the Requisitionists no longer to remain silent spectators of the ruin and misery which pervades every class. They, therefore, applied to the *Churchwardens* to call a meeting of the ley-payers to take into consideration the important objects we are now met to consider. These gentlemen refused to call the meeting, alleging as a reason for so doing, that they did not consider it within their province as *Parish Officers*.—(Hisses.) There might perhaps have been some validity in their objection, if the application had been to call a meeting of the inhabitants at large; but as it was confined to the ley-payers only, and as these officers are appointed by that body, the Requisitionists did hope that they would have felt it their duty to have complied with the request, particularly when it must have been known to them how utterly useless it was to apply to the officers of the Lord of the Manor for the purpose, when it was considered what their conduct had been. We meet here to take into consideration the propriety of making such representations to the King of the state of this distressed town and the manufacturing districts generally, as shall impress upon His Majesty the necessity of calling together the Parliament to endeavour to mitigate evils which, if not speedily attended to, may force the industrious and generally peaceable population, to acts of despera-

tion which would involve themselves and others in one common ruin. It is a fact, I believe, well known to all who hear me, that the great mass of the people of this manufacturing county have long been without the necessities of life, that *some have died for want*, and that *tens of thousands receive a bare existence from the hands of charity*. The public have been long impressed with the belief, that it was imperative upon the Government to remove every impediment which obstructs our commerce with the other nations of the world, and particularly to repeal those pernicious laws against the importation of corn, the existence of which operates as a double scourge upon the industrious inhabitants of this country; first, by depriving them of a market for the produce of their labour; and, secondly, by enhancing to so exorbitant a price the greatest necessary of life, as to put it out of the power of the labourer and mechanic to obtain for himself and his family their daily bread. In calling together the leypayers only, the Requisitionists were not actuated by any feelings of disrespect, or of the *incompetency* of the *people at large* to deliberate with themselves upon the question before the Meeting; but it was thought that an Address from that portion of the inhabitants which composes this assembly, would, in the present state of things, be *more likely to have the desired effect*, and that it would *disarm the opponents of the measure* (if any there be), by showing that the Resolutions which are intended to be passed, were *not carried by that part of the population which is labouring under the want of the necessities of life*. The illiberal conduct of the Committee, to whom is intrusted the power of permitting the use of the *large room in the Exchange*, which has been refused upon this occasion, is scarcely worth naming. In all probability, before another Meeting is required, the Town Hall will be in a state for use; and I congratulate you

that there will no longer be a necessity for the future to apply to this, or any other of those authorities, who, in their attachment to hole-and-corner proceedings, have treated this great and enlightened town, as if it were unworthy the exercise of any public right.—(Great and continued applause.)

MR. RICHARD POTTER, previous to moving the Resolution, thus addressed the Meeting:—After the remarks of my friend, your worthy Chairman, it is not necessary for me to enter into a justification of the steps which have been taken (and which I am proud to avow, I joined in), to bring about the present meeting; the number of the inhabitants assembled show high respectability, and above all, the intense interest evidently felt, fully justifies us in what we have done. And, surely, if ever there was a period in our history, when men of all ranks and parties ought to come forward to use their utmost endeavours to rescue their country from the awful calamities which now surround it—that period is the present. It should be our business this day to inquire into, and, if possible, find out those causes of poverty and embarrassment which afflict us; and why a powerful nation like England, meriting happiness and greatness by its *high moral character*, its skill, its capital, its enterprise, and, above all, by its unwearied industry, is in a state, *the most depressed and wretched*; more so, I do believe, than any country in the world—not even excepting Ireland; and men of your enlightened minds and sound judgment, I am sure, will enter upon the inquiry with that calmness which its importance deserves. The Resolution which I have the honour of submitting to you is to this effect:—

- “ 1. That this town, and the great manufacturing districts, of which it is the centre and the mart, are suffering, at the present moment,

"under the pressure of distress,
 "which is wholly unexampled in its
 "extent and duration; which has al-
 "ready brought to insolvency and
 "ruin, great numbers of manufac-
 "turers and dealers, and merchants,
 "whose honest acquisitions appeared
 "to have placed them beyond the
 "reach of embarrassment; which is
 "daily augmenting the difficulties of
 "those whom it has not yet over-
 "whelmed; which has deprived of
 "all employment many thousands of
 "skilful and industrious families of
 "the labouring classes, degrading
 "them into miserable dependants on
 "the scanty pittance furnished by the
 "poor-rates, and by charitable relief;
 "which is continually adding to the
 "number of those who are so de-
 "pendent; which is, at the same
 "time, gradually forcing down into
 "the ranks of the necessitous, many
 "of the persons by whom those rates
 "have been paid, and that relief has
 "been given; and which is thus
 "threatening to involve, in all the
 "horrors of starvation, this most
 "thickly peopled portion of the
 "three kingdoms."

It is fortunate for me, though dreadfully unfortunate for the country, that no oratorical powers are needed to induce you to adopt it, but I will avail myself of the privilege which moving a resolution gives me, to make a few observations. For a number of years back, fluctuations and changes of a most violent nature have taken place; *at one time we appeared to be all prosperous and happy*; suddenly a cloud arises, and a storm is generated, which, in its descent, overwhelms and destroys all before it. These convulsions have come on periodically, but none of them was ever so distressing, *ever so frightful*, or caused such general destruction to the trading world as the one under which we have so long suffered; for, *from the highest merchant, down to the humblest weaver, all are alike prostrate.*—(Applause and cries of *True!*)

true!) There must be something *radically wrong* to have produced this state of things; it has been ascribed to various causes—some years ago, to the transition from "war to peace." During the last session of Parliament, we heard of its being caused by *over-trading ruinous speculations*, an *over-issue of paper-money*, &c. &c. But one great cause, and, in my opinion, the greatest of them all, and respecting which I trust you will this day express your opinion, was completely lost sight of, viz., *over taxation.*—(Applause.) This was indeed brought forward by that faithful and indefatigable friend of the people, Mr. Hume, but he could obtain no support, scarcely a hearing on that subject.—(Applause.) A question of great importance, the Corn-Laws, will be brought before you by gentlemen far more qualified for the task than I am. I will, not, therefore, occupy any of your time with it. Taxation will, in all probability, by others be entered upon, but I must join my efforts to theirs in endeavouring to direct your attention to this all-important subject. I contend, then, that we are *called upon to pay far more than we are able or ought to do*, and unless we are speedily relieved by a considerable reduction, this country must sink in the scale of nations,—or, in the emphatic and prophetic language of Earl Grey, "If this were not done (that is, inquiry made into the state of the country, and relief granted) these distresses would come on from time to time, in an aggravated form, and would ultimately produce such a convulsion as he hoped the country might recover from hereafter, but which the present generation could not pass through without producing a degree of suffering which he was not prepared to describe or express." The necessity of a reduction of taxation was, in the spring of 1822, brought before Parliament by that great Statesman, Mr. Brougham, in a motion he made, pledging the House to lessen the burdens of the

support is to be raised from our own soil, then it will be necessary to be constantly bringing into cultivation lands which, on account of their inferior quality, are in the present state and circumstances of society, wholly unfit for tillage in any country of the world. As the cultivation of inferior lands is extended with the cost of production, the price of corn must advance, till the consumers' power to purchase it will be exhausted; and then, through a lingering course of misery and starvation, accompanied by the degradation and consequent depravity of the poor, population will be checked. In the mean time, the rise in the price of corn will gradually communicate itself to labour, and through labour to all manufactured goods, and this rise in the price of manufactured goods will ultimately, in spite of our machinery, and in spite of all other "means and appliances to boot," enable foreigners to undersell us. The high comparative price of subsistence, which the Corn-Laws have hitherto occasioned, must so seriously have retarded our national prosperity, that if it had not been for the pre-eminence of our skill, capital, industry, and machinery, its effects in checking our progress would have been long ago, what I indulge the hope it is not even yet, fatally apparent. Till recently indeed, we have gone on our course rejoicing; our advance in wealth and power has been distinguished for its rapidity and magnificence; but let not this deceive us — let not the splendour and brilliancy of any past success disturb the accuracy and distinctness of our present views—for

"The shining there, like light on graves,

"Has rank cold hearts beneath it."—

(Immense cheering.)

In the midst of all our success, in the midst of all our prosperity, the Corn-Laws have been destructively counter-acting all the advantages we have enjoyed; and now, when from the increased enterprise of our commercial rivals, and from other causes, it has

become manifest that we can no longer, in an equal degree, enjoy these advantages, the influence of these pernicious laws, in depressing our condition, must be constantly more and more palpable. (Cheers.) A recurrence, therefore, to sound principles in the trade in corn is essential to the continuance of our commercial prosperity. But the freedom of this trade is not only of most serious importance, on account of the extent to which it might be carried, for the purposes of our own consumption, but it is also of great importance with a view to a general trade in it. From the extent and variety of our mercantile connexions, and the advantages we enjoy in the magnitude of our capital, the number of our ships, our excellent harbours, and our insular situation, we might reasonably calculate that, with a free trade in corn, *England would become the granary of Europe*, and would thus secure to itself, besides all other concomitant advantages, a principal share in the carrying trade of this bulky and valuable product. An admission of the solidity of these views is now beginning to manifest itself in quarters which, hitherto, in ministering to the cupidity and prejudices of the landed interest, for the purpose, no doubt, of obtaining the sanction of that interest to their own most prodigal expenditure, have either turned a deaf ear, or given a stern and unfeeling denial to all national remonstrances on the subject. It is now understood that several members of Government are desirous to effect such a revision of the Corn-Laws as will at once most favourably modify, and perhaps ultimately remove all restrictions on the corn trade. In corroboration of what is thus thought to be the desire of some of the Ministers, I beg to quote what Mr. Huskisson said on the hustings in Liverpool, at the late election there. He said, "That the commercial measures for which he was responsible had been undertaken by him, that he might show to the landed interest

had been accustomed to derive it— [Great emotion was here audible in the meeting—*tears were given*—they could not be withheld from a picture so vivid, yet so true.]—and which, from the mother's deprivations are now dried up. Imagine to yourselves, a father, surrounded by his clamorous and famished children, wailing in vain for food; and then say, if in the midst of misery and wretchedness like this, it is not incumbent upon us to call for the *severest economy in the public expenditure*, in order that every available means may be adopted to relieve the country from a state so dreadful.— (Great and continued applause.)

MR. DAVID HOLT gave his decided approbation to the foregoing Resolution, and bore his testimony as to the extent of misery and distress just described. He expressed an opinion that, under present circumstances, it was not in the power of individual charity to reach as far as the people's necessities, and that nothing could impose an effectual check to the present deplorable state of the working classes but some wise and powerful act of Government, such as those advocated in the Resolution he seconded.

MR. LILLY now addressed the assemblage. For some minutes he was listened to with patience. He began, however, shortly to laud the measures of Government, and to express a warm confidence in the purity and correctness of ministerial intentions generally. Several murmurs were heard. The Meeting exhibited symptoms of impatience. It had become known that he was *one of the ill-omened cavalry* who acted on the 16th of August (this was the 17th,) and he was soon overpowered. The Chairman repeatedly asked a patient hearing; but remembrance, and his pertinacious recurrence to unseasonable language and gratuitous opinion, caused such a tremendous expression of disapprobation, that he *was compelled to withdraw*.

MR. SHUTTLEWORTH, on moving the second Resolution, said, in furtherance of the very important purposes for which this Meeting has assembled, I have now the honour to submit to its consideration a motion against the Corn-Laws—(Cheers); and I assure you that I do this with the most perfect satisfaction, because, in my judgment, there is no question of public interest which surpasses in importance that to which this motion refers. Whether we regard the injuries which the existence of the Corn-Laws, under every modification, has inflicted on this country, the inevitable destruction which certainly awaits the continuance of such a system, or the advantages which would result from its abandonment, we cannot fail to be impressed with the conviction that our attention could not be directed to any subject of greater consequence. (Applause.) That a system like this should have been persisted in, after the mistaken views and principles in which it originated had been fully and repeatedly exposed—after it had been incontrovertibly demonstrated that it involved the grossest injustice on one part of the community for the advantage of another; after it had been shown, that it presented the most formidable obstruction to the general prosperity of the country, is a fact, which I shall leave those to reconcile to the *integrity and the wisdom of Parliament*, who are still like Mr. Lilly behind me—(Cheers and laughter)—in the habit of making those qualities of our legislature a constant theme of amplification and praise—(Loud applause.) With those who thus *highly estimate the merits of Parliament*, I, for one, altogether disagree.—(Great applause.) I am not, however, disposed on this occasion, to enter upon any general discussion of the merits or demerits of Parliament; but confining myself strictly to the connexion which the character and constitution of that body have with the question before us, I shall say, that its conduct, with re-

spect to corn, entitles it not to any degree of public approbation or confidence.—(Cheers.) It has now been busy upon this subject for the last two centuries, and in reviewing its proceedings during that period I can discover scarcely any thing but a constant and anxious endeavour to promote the interests—to gratify the sordid feelings, of that particular class, of whom, unfortunately for the country, Parliament is almost entirely composed, to the exclusion on this subject, of that general consideration for the rights and interests of the community at large, which is essential to all just and enlightened legislation. To raise the price of corn, for the purpose of benefiting the growers of that article, seems to me, to have been almost the only object of the numerous laws, which Parliament has enacted for the regulation of the corn trade. Those laws abundantly prove that the corn growers of this country are also its legislators; and that in that capacity, however elevated may have been their pretensions to disinterestedness and independence, they are not, upon this subject at least, entirely superior to the control of selfish and sinister influence.—(Great cheers.) As legislators, indeed, the corn growers have acted, as if they had no interests to consult or recognise but their own; as if with all the national authority, all the national welfare was vested in themselves; as if they alone were entitled to float upon society, like Leander on the Hellespont, combining all things in their own body—

“ At once the pilot, passenger, and bark.”

—(Great applause.) The most prominent pretext which is urged in support of the Corn-Laws is, that the taxation to which the corn grower of this country is subject is so much more burdensome than that to which the corn growers of other countries are liable, that he cannot bring his produce to market against foreign competition. I am very far from

being desirous of extenuating the evils of taxation. Those evils are certainly great; but great as they are, I trust it may be easily shown, that they are not fairly chargeable with the monstrous aggravation of justifying these laws. Whatever taxes are now raised in this country are so distributed, that they fall with some degree of equality on all descriptions of commodities;—they fall quite as much on wrought manufactures as on agricultural produce, and they cannot, on that account, afford any facilities for the introduction of foreign corn. It must be obvious that in whatever degree we import foreign corn, we must export some other article to pay for it; and if taxation has operated on all other articles equally with corn, the importer of foreign corn, receiving his payment in those other articles, would be able to obtain no more for a given quantity of his produce, if he sold it to us when we were pressed upon by a heavy taxation, than he would if he sold it to us, and we had no taxes whatever. Supposing our taxation had raised the price of corn 20 per cent., the foreign corn grower would have an inducement to that amount to bring his corn hither; but if, at the same time, our taxation had raised the price of every thing else 20 per cent., the foreign corn grower, receiving his payment in commodities at this advanced rate, would be in precisely the same situation as if no such advance had taken place. This reasoning shows that the taxation which enters equally into the price of corn, and into the price of all other things, does not expose the home grower to the risk of injury from foreign competition. The argument, therefore, which the advocates of the Corn-Laws derive from taxation, must be limited entirely to those taxes which fall exclusively or unequally upon the land. Whatever taxes press disproportionately on agriculture, operate to the amount of that partial pressure, as an encouragement to foreign cultivation, to

the prejudice of our own; and I am willing, most freely willing, to admit that such taxes furnish a reasonable claim for indemnity to the full amount of the injury they inflict. What then, upon this principle, are the nature and amount of the taxes, for which the agriculturists are now justified in claiming an indemnity? If this question had been proposed in 1815, when the present Corn-Laws were passed, the answer would have required an enumeration of several most heavy and oppressive taxes, which do not now exist. At that time agriculture was burdened with assessments on farm horses, farm servants, farm carriages, and on a variety of other necessities, to the amount of about two millions and a half; it was burdened with taxes on malt, and other articles of produce to the amount of about five millions and a half. It was burdened also with so considerable a portion of the property-tax, as to make the total taxation with which it was directly chargeable about fifteen or sixteen millions. As a protection against these taxes, the present Corn-Laws were passed; the landed interests insisted upon an indemnity, and they obtained these laws. Since then they have repealed the taxes for which these laws were principally contrived as an equivalent, and are nevertheless now struggling (and unless the country oppose them with a determination which it has not manifested yet, I believe they will successfully struggle) to retain the indemnity. These taxes having been repealed, the only charges, we may say, upon the land which now remain to furnish the advocates of the Corn-Laws with a hook on which to hang their case, are an insignificant part of such assessments and rates as fall more heavily on the country than on towns, together with that proportion of tithe which comes out of the profits of stock. These are the only charges upon land of which I am aware, that now afford any semblance of justification to the land-owners

for claiming indemnity: and yet it is principally against these, trifling as they are, that all the array of Corn-Laws is required as a protection. It is principally for these most paltry imposts that all the calamity of a restricted trade in corn is to be endured.—(Applause.) To show the extent of that calamity—to show the tremendous disproportion between the indemnity paid to the agriculturists, and the injury sustained by them—to show, in short, “what great events from little causes spring,” a very brief calculation will suffice. In 1765, when the population of England and Wales was only six millions, Mr. Charles Smith, an eminent economist of that time, as the result of a careful, laborious, and intelligent investigation, estimated the consumption of grain at fifteen millions three hundred and fifty thousand quarters. In 1800 Mr. Chalmers estimated it at thirty-three millions and a half quarters. In 1812 and 1814, when the subject of the Corn-Laws was under discussion, Mr. Western and Dr. Colquhoun estimated it at about forty millions of quarters. Now, from 1811 to 1821, a period of ten years, the population of the United Kingdom increased from about fifteen and a half millions to about twenty millions, or short of one third; we may, in my opinion, safely take the increase from 1812 and 1814 to the present time, which is a longer period, at the same, and assuming the increase of consumption to be in the ratio of the increased population, we shall have to add to 40 millions of quarters the consumption of 1812 and 1814, something less than one third (I shall call it in round numbers twelve millions), to show the amount of the present consumption. This calculation raises the present consumption to fifty-two millions of quarters; so that if the price of grain be on an average fifteen shillings per quarter higher in this than in surrounding countries, then the consumers of this country have to pay to the growers, to whom the Corn-

spect to corn, entitles it not to any degree of public approbation or confidence.—(Cheers.) It has now been busy upon this subject for the last two centuries, and in reviewing its proceedings during that period I can discover scarcely any thing but a constant and anxious endeavour to promote the interests—to gratify the sordid feelings, of that particular class, of whom, unfortunately for the country, Parliament is almost entirely composed, to the exclusion on this subject, of that general consideration for the rights and interests of the community at large, which is essential to all just and enlightened legislation. To raise the price of corn, for the purpose of benefiting the growers of that article, seems to me, to have been almost the only object of the numerous laws, which Parliament has enacted for the regulation of the corn trade. Those laws abundantly prove that the corn growers of this country are also its legislators; and that in that capacity, however elevated may have been their pretensions to disinterestedness and independence, they are not, upon this subject at least, entirely superior to the control of selfish and sinister influence.—(Great cheers.) As legislators, indeed, the corn growers have acted, as if they had no interests to consult or recognise but their own; as if with all the national authority, all the national welfare was vested in themselves; as if they alone were entitled to float upon society, like Leander on the Hellespont, combining all things in their own body—

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being desirous of extenuating the evils of taxation. Those evils are certainly great; but great as they are, I trust it may be easily shown, that they are not fairly chargeable with the monstrous aggravation of justifying these laws. Whatever taxes are now raised in this country are so distributed, that they fall with some degree of equality on all descriptions of commodities;—they fall quite as much on wrought manufactures as on agricultural produce, and they cannot, on that account, afford any facilities for the introduction of foreign corn. It must be obvious that in whatever degree we import foreign corn, we must export some other article to pay for it; and if taxation has operated on all other articles equally with corn, the importer of foreign corn, receiving his payment in those other articles, would be able to obtain no more for a given quantity of his produce, if he sold it to us when we were pressed upon by a heavy taxation, than he would if he sold it to us, and we had no taxes whatever. Supposing our taxation had raised the price of corn 20 per cent., the foreign corn grower would have an inducement to that amount to bring his corn hither; but if, at the same time, our taxation had raised the price of every thing else 20 per cent., the foreign corn grower, receiving his payment in commodities at this advanced rate, would be in precisely the same situation as if no such advance had taken place. This reasoning shows that the taxation which enters equally into the price of corn, and into the price of all other things, does not expose the home grower to the risk of injury from foreign competition. The argument, therefore, which the advocates of the Corn-Laws derive from taxation, must be limited entirely to those taxes which fall exclusively or unequally upon the land. Whatever taxes press disproportionately on agriculture, operate to the amount of that partial pressure, as an encouragement to foreign cultivation, to

the prejudice of our own; and I am willing, most freely willing, to admit that such taxes furnish a reasonable claim for indemnity to the full amount of the injury they inflict. What then, upon this principle, are the nature and amount of the taxes, for which the agriculturists are now justified in claiming an indemnity? If this question had been proposed in 1815, when the present Corn-Laws were passed, the answer would have required an enumeration of several most heavy and oppressive taxes, which do not now exist. At that time agriculture was burdened with assessments on farm horses, farm servants, farm carriages, and on a variety of other necessities, to the amount of about two millions and a half; it was burdened with taxes on malt, and other articles of produce to the amount of about five millions and a half. It was burdened also with so considerable a portion of the property-tax, as to make the total taxation with which it was directly chargeable about fifteen or sixteen millions. As a protection against these taxes, the present Corn-Laws were passed; the landed interests insisted upon an indemnity, and they obtained these laws. Since then they have repealed the taxes for which these laws were principally contrived as an equivalent, and are nevertheless now struggling (and unless the country oppose them with a determination which it has not manifested yet, I believe they will successfully struggle) to retain the indemnity. These taxes having been repealed, the only charges, we may say, upon the land which now remain to furnish the advocates of the Corn-Laws with a hook on which to hang their case, are an insignificant part of such assessments and rates as fall more heavily on the country than on towns, together with that proportion of tithe which comes out of the profits of stock. These are the only charges upon land of which I am aware, that now afford any semblance of justification to the land-owners

for claiming indemnity: and yet it is principally against these, trifling as they are, that all the array of Corn-Laws is required as a protection. It is principally for these most paltry imposts that all the calamity of a restricted trade in corn is to be endured.—(Applause.) To show the extent of that calamity—to show the tremendous disproportion between the indemnity paid to the agriculturists, and the injury sustained by them—to show, in short, “what great events from little causes spring,” a very brief calculation will suffice. In 1765, when the population of England and Wales was only six millions, Mr. Charles Smith, an eminent economist of that time, as the result of a careful, laborious, and intelligent investigation, estimated the consumption of grain at fifteen millions three hundred and fifty thousand quarters. In 1800 Mr. Chalmers estimated it at thirty-three millions and a half quarters. In 1812 and 1814, when the subject of the Corn-Laws was under discussion, Mr. Western and Dr. Colquhoun estimated it at about forty millions of quarters. Now, from 1811 to 1821, a period of ten years, the population of the United Kingdom increased from about fifteen and a half millions to about twenty millions, or short of one third; we may, in my opinion, safely take the increase from 1812 and 1814 to the present time, which is a longer period, at the same, and assuming the increase of consumption to be in the ratio of the increased population, we shall have to add to 40 millions of quarters the consumption of 1812 and 1814, something less than one third (I shall call it in round numbers twelve millions), to show the amount of the present consumption. This calculation raises the present consumption to fifty-two millions of quarters; so that if the price of grain be on an average fifteen shillings per quarter higher in this than in surrounding countries, then the consumers of this country have to pay to the growers, to whom the Corn-

Laws have granted a monopoly of supply, no less annually *than thirty-eight millions sterling, over and above what the corn produce alone of this country is worth elsewhere.* A claim so monstrous as this, made by one part of the community upon another, has, I am persuaded, no parallel in any fact of real history. To equal it, we must have recourse to some *narrative of fiction*, and no such narrative at present occurs to my mind, which affords a more apt illustration of the spirit of agricultural aggression which this claim exhibits, than an incident in one of Voltaire's stories, which represents an Arab chief magnifying his consequence, by declaring that he was not only the rightful owner of all that belonged to himself, but of all too that belonged to every body else.—(Immense cheering.) Another argument which has been used in favour of the Corn-Laws, is founded on those protections and duties which have been granted for the purpose of giving to some of our manufactures a monopoly of the home market. It is alleged that, in consequence of these protections and duties, the corn growers of this country are compelled to pay for some of the articles they consume, more than would be the case if a free import of foreign manufactures was permitted. There may, for any thing I know, be still some individuals connected with trade and manufactures, who continue to set a value on legislative patronage; but sure I am, that I am only giving expression to the almost unanimous opinion of those who constitute the trading interests of the country, when I say that it is to be deplored that such patronage was ever bestowed upon us. If the agriculturists claim indemnity for the existence of these protecting duties, let them seek the indemnity from the few who have been benefited by them, and not from the whole community, which had suffered from their existence in a degree at least equally with themselves. The trad-

ing classes of the present day, are not at all responsible for any regulations which interfere with commercial liberty; they are, in point of fact, the classes which sustain the deepest injury from the existence of such regulations, and so far from being called upon to compensate their effects on the interest of others, they ought rather themselves to be compensated, for the effect which those regulations have had upon their own. *The tendency of all prohibitive regulations, of all protecting duties, is to withdraw capital and labour from their most beneficial employments, and to give them a forced and unnatural direction.* If we prohibit the importation of foreign manufactures, we, by the self-same act, necessarily prohibit the exportation of such of our own as would be taken in payment, and we thus lose all the advantage that would accrue to us from the exchange. It is clear, therefore, that the trading part of the community has no interest in the continuance of a monopolising policy.—(Applause.) While therefore we oppose ourselves to a system, which gives to one class a monopoly of the home market for corn, let us disclaim all sanction and approval of another system, which professes to give us a monopoly of the home market for manufactures. Let those who have granted us this monopoly take it back: we have not sought for it—we feel it as an incumbrance—we acknowledge no protection, but that which is afforded by the cheap administration of such laws, as will secure to us the possession of property, liberty, and life.—(Applause.) *In connexion with the progress of our population, the existence of the Corn-Laws presents considerations of most appalling magnitude.* We have seen that from 1811 to 1821, the population increased at the annual average rate of about 450,000. If the increase is to go on in this, or any thing like this, ratio; if indeed it is to go on at all, and if, under the operation of a system of Corn-Laws, food for its

people; he concluded a most luminous and able view of the causes which had brought the country into the state it then was in, and which he justly attributed to our vast expenditure; and declared, "That the only hope of relief to the suffering classes lay in a determined reduction of the taxes which oppressed them. The celebrated Mr. Burke, in his famous speech, delivered near fifty years ago, on Economical Reform, observed, in glowing language, the misery and ruin which *over-taxation* entailed upon a people. Fortified by *such high authority*, I again declare my firm and solemn conviction, that to *over-taxation* a great part of the distress and misery now felt may be attributed. Ministers have either gone too far, or not far enough. *Free trade, cheap food, and reduction of taxes*, in our situation, should be simultaneous. When a prudent individual finds his income reduced—and all individuals are, I fear, now in this situation—he conforms his expenditure to that reduction. I apprehend a similar line of conduct will apply to countries. The people who find the money have a right, and are surely justified in telling their Government, in respectful but firm language, that they are no longer in a condition, or are willing to pay the enormous demands made upon them—and that they must be considerably reduced—leaving to the wisdom of the legislature from and where the retrenchments may be made. You are, no doubt, aware of the great distress which, since the commencement of this year, has prevailed, and which still continues amongst the working class of this town and neighbourhood, more particularly with those employed in the cotton business. To endeavour to alleviate this, a very liberal subscription has been entered into by the wealthier part of the inhabitants. I was thought worthy to be appointed on the Committee for distributing this charity, and in the execution of that duty, have visited, along with my colleagues,

the habitations of some of the applicants; those of you who may not have had such opportunities, can hardly form an idea of the wretched state to which many of them are reduced. I have, in company with our highly respected Chairman, entered an apartment, probably three or four yards square, in which we found a man, his wife, and six children, *huddled together round a few embers*. We asked, where is your furniture?—We have none but what you see, was the reply. And what do you think it was? for seats, a few loose bricks; for bedding, a piece of tattered wrappering, rolled up in a corner, with shavings in it; and only one such bed for eight persons. We inquired, where is your food? Answer—We have none, nor any means of procuring any. This was not a solitary instance. I could detail scores, even still worse than this; but your feelings and my own would be too much worked upon, for it would "a tale unfold, whose lightest word would harrow up your souls." (Applause.) Dreadful as their condition is, it becomes, in point of extent, comparatively light to what is endured in other parts of the country. I have the authority of an extensive manufacturer, Mr. Edward Pollard of Burnley, in stating, that *out of a population of ten thousand persons, no less than eight thousand of them received relief only last Friday!* I have also the authority of a gentleman, incapable of exaggeration, who has extensive print works in the neighbourhood, in stating, that in no very extended circuit round Pendle-hill, there are at least *eighty thousand persons in a state of the most frightful destitution*, comprehending, probably, twenty thousand families, most of whom still get up in a morning without having the slightest article of food to eat in their houses, and no certainty of obtaining any that day! Good God! what a state to be in. Imagine to yourselves, a mother with an infant at her breast, crying and struggling to extract nourishment from those sources from whence it

"that they took an erroneous view of
 "the subject, if they imagined that
 "their monopoly could any longer be
 "allowed to stand on the same
 "foundation as that on which it
 "rested in 1818. These measures
 "had, in his opinion, prepared the
 "way for a safe alteration in the Corn-
 "Laws, under such regulations, with
 "respect to duty, as would secure, at
 "a moderate, reasonable, and steady
 "price, a sufficient supply of that
 "first article of consumption; and
 "thus revive that which was the only
 "legitimate foundation of power, and
 "source of wealth—namely, compara-
 "tive ease and comfort to the labour-
 "ing classes." To the necessary and
 "beneficent purpose thus announced, it
 "is our duty to give all the support in
 "our power, especially as the general
 "support of the country is necessary
 "to enable the Ministers to encounter,
 "with any chance of success, the al-
 "most overwhelming authority of the
 "landed interest. In the discharge
 "of the duty of contributing our sup-
 "port, we are now called upon to ex-
 "press strongly and decisively an op-
 "inion in favour of the measure. We
 "are called upon to do this by all the
 "motives that would induce us to avert
 "ruin from ourselves—by all the spirit
 "and energy with which we would re-
 "pel, what the Corn-Laws are, *an open
 "and flagrant aggression on our rights*—
 "by all the pride and patriotism which
 "interest us in perpetuating and ex-
 "tending the prosperity of our coun-
 "try—by all the wishes we entertain
 "to preserve with foreign states those
 "relations of peace and friendship
 "which shed blessings upon all; and
 "for the continuance of which, a free
 "corn trade would be an additional,
 "probably the most powerful, security;
 "by all these motives and feelings are
 "we now called upon to exert our-
 "selves to *break down the present odious
 "and destructive system*; to establish
 "the trade in corn on a just and solid
 "basis; and that accomplished, by the
 "same motives and feelings, shall we
 "be required hereafter so to resist all
 "subsequent interference, as

"Ne'er to let it bind again

"The chain that will be broke from then."

(Tremendous applause, which con-
 tinued for some time after the speak-
 er had sat down.)

2d. "That, in the opinion of this
 "meeting, the alarming distress in
 "the neighbouring districts cannot
 "be effectually remedied without a
 "change in those laws which forbid
 "the importation of foreign corn
 "until corn of home growth shall
 "have attained a price which it is
 "impossible for the people of this
 "country to pay; which laws, there-
 "fore amount to an exclusion of that
 "corn, and which exclusion operates
 "to the injury of the manufacturing
 "classes, and of the nation at large,
 "in the four following ways:—First,
 "In enhancing prodigiously the
 "prices of the prime necessities of
 "life. Second, In shutting out from
 "British markets all those foreign-
 "ers, of various nations, whose need
 "of the goods which we make, is
 "surpassed only by our need of the
 "corn which they offer in exchange.
 "Third, In making it the interest
 "of those nations to encourage, by
 "all possible means, the progress of
 "native manufactures; thus not
 "only depriving us of the trade of
 "supplying their wants, but raising
 "them up against us into the most
 "dangerous rivals in the trade of
 "supplying the wants of those other
 "countries, the markets of which
 "are equally open to all. And,
 "Fourthly, In introducing the spirit
 "and practice of hazardous specula-
 "tions into the formerly steady and
 "regular business of all persons con-
 "cerned in raising or selling the
 "products of the land, making the
 "prosperity, even of the farmer,
 "and the supply of the fruits of the
 "earth, to depend, not upon the in-
 "dustry of man, nor in the bounty
 "of the seasons, but upon a system
 "of averages, managed with so much
 "falsehood and fraud as to produce
 "the most deceptive and injurious
 "results."

MR. MARK PHILLIPS seconded this Resolution, and expressed his conviction of its propriety, in a neat speech.

MR. PRENTICE, in moving the Third Resolution, said, that after the picture of the state of the people in this town and its neighbourhood, which had been drawn by Mr. Potter with so much ability and feeling, and as they all knew, unhappily, with so much truth, and with the conviction on their minds that the distress which he had described was not likely to be of short duration, it would be doing their duty only in part, and that not the most important part, if they stopped short with the expression of their opinions as to the injurious operation of the Corn-Laws. The Resolution which they had so unequivocally approved of, would go forth as a decided expression of the feeling which prevailed in this part of the country; but he trusted it would go forth, accompanied also with as unequivocal and as unanimous an expression of their opinion, as to the injurious effect of *inordinate taxation*. — (Applause.) After the strong and forcible manner in which Mr. Shuttleworth had shown the weight of the burden imposed by the Corn-Laws, he feared he should not easily, by any means of his, lead them to look on other burdens *as more intolerable*; but he would be assisted by their own experience of the sufferings to which *heavy taxation exposed them*; and he should be enabled, by Mr. S.'s calculations, to show the proportion between the pressure of the corn tax and the Government taxes. That gentleman had stated *that thirty-eight millions was the probable amount of that tax, which would be 38s. for every individual man, woman, and child, of our population, or 7l. or 8l. for each family*. This was a great, a grievous tax, and such they all felt it. But the Government taxes were still more grievous, still more intolerable; for, in a calculation made expressly

to show the ability of the country to fulfil its obligations, it was assumed that 3l. 15s. per head, or 16l. 7s. 6d. *for each family, was the rate of contribution to the Revenue*. They might be told this was a small sum or mere trifle—a thing not worth naming; but we know, (said Mr. Prentice), the distressing effects which result from withdrawing from the people so large a portion of the produce of their honest industry; and knowing it, it is proper and becoming in us as men, having, we trust, our hearts in the right place, to stand forward and *demand that what is wrong from a miserable and impoverished people, shall not be expended with wasteful extravagance*. — (Applause.) He would not enter into any detail as to the various items in which a reduction of expenditure might be effected. He would not travel over the disgusting list of placemen, and sinecurists, and pensioners, who shared amongst them so large a portion of the public money. He had seen, in the reception of the honest cotton-spinners' remarks, that such a detail would exhaust their patience. He would not waste their time in exposing the wretched sophistry, that the national *dignity* was supported and upheld by the *greatness* of the amount expended on the *show and trappings of royalty*; for every man who had a particle of reason or common sense must know it was not from the brilliancy and grandeur of its court and its palaces, nor from the splendid equipages of its ambassadors, but from power, and power under just direction, that a country was respected and feared. — (Hear, hear!) He would not enter into such details or arguments, but would briefly say, that if Mr. Hume's recommendation was attended to, to abandon the now palpable juggle of the Sinking Fund, and to exercise an *ordinary degree of economy in the national expenditure*, Ministers might *relieve the country of taxes to the amount of ten millions a year*. The possibility of great re-renchment was proved by the fact that, at former periods of

our history, when the country was not much less great and powerful than it now is, a century ago, the whole expenditure was four millions. He chose this period for illustration, because it was after the introduction of the funding system, *that pernicious system*, which enabled a King and a people to play at the game of war, and shift the burden on posterity.—(Hear, hear.) At that period, when they had no National Debt to pay, the whole expenditure was not more than a fourteenth part of the present expenditure. Now, he would ask, was there any thing in the present circumstances of the country to justify an expenditure fourteen times larger than the expenditure in the reign of George the First? Coming to a late period—a period subsequent to that war against our colonies, in which we expended a sum, the interest of which is larger than the revenue of that now great and flourishing republic, even with the accession of debt so occasioned, the expenditure 34 years ago was not more than one-fourth of what it is now. “But it seems,” said he, “the machinery of State is the only machinery that has not received simplification and improvement; and while science and art have combined to *lower the cost of every thing else, the cost of Government has daily become greater and greater.*”

“3d. That while ascribing so many evils to the operation of the Corn-Laws, this meeting cannot refrain, at a time like the present, from declaring their belief that much of the evil under which the whole British people suffers, is to be traced to the enormous account of the taxes levied in this kingdom; an account which, to its present extent, this meeting is strongly of opinion, is unnecessary for the purpose of a government anxious only to promote the public welfare, seeing that besides the great sums applied in discharge of the interest of the National Debt,

“a revenue several times as great as the whole revenue of England, is expended in the maintenance, apparently designed to be perpetual, of an immense standing army; in support of what the Ministers themselves have denominated the ‘Dead Weight;’ in the payment of greatly disproportioned salaries to the officers of state; in supplying, by pensions and sinecures, the means of extravagance to great numbers of individuals and families to whom the public never was indebted for any the smallest portion of service; and in various other charges, for which the most prosperous condition any country ever knew could furnish no excuse, and which, in this country, after the exhaustion of a twenty-five years’ war, are as unjustifiable in their principle as they are oppressive and destructive in their effects.”

This Resolution was seconded by Mr. CROFT.

MR. HARVEY, in moving the fourth Resolution, said, the great cruelty and injustice of the Corn-Laws has already been shown, and the prices that in consequence of these laws you are compelled to pay; it has also been shown that we are so oppressed with taxes as to be less able to pay for dear bread. Respecting the important Resolutions on these subjects, it is, therefore, unnecessary for me to say any thing. I shall confine myself to the laws appertaining to the *paper-system*—laws more injurious in their consequences than either the Corn-Laws, or the taxes, or any other laws I know of. Up to 1797 the Bank of England, and other banks, were compelled to pay their notes in cash; but the Bank of England, at that period unable to pay its notes in gold, got Pitt and his Parliament to pass a law to protect it against its creditors. After this period the paper was pushed out, and in consequence, through

the whole of the war, the price of corn got up from 4s. 6d. to 18s. or 20s. per bushel. In this law there was a clause to compel the Bank to pay in specie six months after peace. Peace came, but no return to cash-payments, and law after law was passed to protect the Bank, until the year 1819, when a Bill was passed, unanimously, called Peel's Bill, to prevent the Bank of England and other banks from issuing any notes under 5l. after May, 1823. During the period from 1819 to 1822, corn and almost every article of produce declined in price, because the bankers had to draw in their notes against the day of cash payments, and produce had to meet this reduced quantity of money. The Ministers and Landlords saw plainly that there would be no rents.—(Laughter,) and therefore they preferred to enact another law to enable the bankers to issue their notes to 1823. From 1822, the time when all descriptions of produce were as low, or lower than at any period for many years before, the price of every article after the passing of the Small Note Bill, began to rise in price, because the banks were pushing out their paper again. (A person from the crowd cried out, *That is the doctrine of Cobbett.*) Yes, it is the doctrine of Cobbett, and I am proud to declare that any information I possess on the paper system I derive from him. I have read him for years, and I publicly acknowledge my obligations to him. I say almost every article began to rise in price from 1822, but it will be sufficient to show how corn was affected. In 1822 corn in England was 43s. per quarter, while in France it was 31s., in Holland 28s. In 1823 corn in England was 51s. (for at that time paper was coming out); in France it was 36s., and in Holland 31s. In 1824 corn in England was 62s. They have no alteration in France of the currency, therefore corn remained stationary, or nearly so; indeed it was lower, for I find it to be 32s., and in Holland 25s.

In 1825 paper was pushed out to the greatest extent; corn got up to 69s., while in France it was 30s., and in Holland 24s. By this you will see what the paper system has done to make you eat dearer bread than the Corn-Laws or the taxes could. It has ruined the merchants and manufacturers, so that they are no longer able to give employment to the labourer, and of course the labourer is suffering hunger and nakedness. We may pray for a repeal of the Corn-Laws—we may pray for a repeal of the taxes; but my firm conviction is, that we shall have neither a repeal of the Corn-Laws, nor any material reduction of taxation, until we get a reformed Parliament. (Great applause.)

4th. "That the enormous pressure
"of the Corn-Laws and the Taxes
"has been aggravated to an incalculable extent by the arbitrary
"changes that have been made in
"the value of money by the operation of the measure for causing a
"return to cash payments: the abstract wisdom and necessity of such
"measure, however injurious in its
"immediate consequences, this meeting does not in the least dispute;
"but which measure being unaccompanied with any remission of taxes,
"or any alteration in the Corn-Laws, has had the effect of lowering (in many cases to less than one
"half) the prices of all descriptions
"of produce and of goods, except
"those which the Corn-Laws and
"the taxes have unnaturally kept up;
"and of lessening, in like proportion,
"the income, the profits, and the
"wages of every man not dependent
"on the land and taxes."

MR. BURGESS, in seconding this Resolution, stated that, eighteen months ago, there were eighteen calico-printers in Cannon-street—not merely nominal printers, but persons having works of their own, and now there were only eight left, the others having stopped payment.

MR. HOLBROOKE regretted it

had not fallen to abler hands to move the fifth Resolution. Little need be said in favour of petitioning George the Fourth, for he was the father of the people. He felt surprised that such a measure should require such a recommendation, and that any person should oppose a petition so important and interesting. He alluded to some expressions of Mr. Lilly, and successfully combated his arguments and opinions relative to the cause of the present distress. After an appropriate address, which we lament our limits will not allow us to give, he concluded by moving the fifth and last Resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Fielding.

5th. "That for all these manifold
"and aggravated evils, this meeting
"is firmly of opinion, no adequate
"and lasting remedy can be applied,
"except by a repeal (as prompt and
"effectual as may be consistent with
"the regard which is due to those
"interests which have been created
"by the present artificial system, and
"which depend upon it) of every
"law which enhances the price of
"bread, and obstructs the manufac-
"turing and commercial prosperity
"of the nation; and also by an im-
"mediate abolition of taxes, to an
"amount which this meeting does
"not presume to specify, but which,
"to produce the desired results,
"must be so great as to put an end
"to all government expenditure be-
"yond that which shall be suited to
"the altered value of money, and
"directly conducive to the freedom
"and greatness of the kingdom;
"that therefore an address and peti-
"tion from this meeting be presented
"to His Majesty, most earnestly and
"respectfully stating those views
"which this meeting has taken of
"the causes and remedies of the
"dreadful condition to which these
"districts are reduced, and most
"humbly beseeching him, that he
"will be graciously pleased to as-
"semble the Parliament forthwith,
"and to recommend the immediate

"adoption of those great measures
"which, and which only, can, in the
"opinion of this meeting, prevent
"his suffering and loyal people from
"being hurried into the perils and
"the crimes of some awful convul-
"sion, and which only can restore
"permanent prosperity to all parts
"of His Majesty's dominions."

The Meeting, after giving three tremendous rounds of applause, and a vote of thanks to the Chairman, dispersed.

THE PETITION.

To his Most Gracious Majesty, George the Fourth, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. &c. &c.

The Address and Petition of the Ley-payers of Manchester, at a Meeting held at the Manor Court-House, this seventeenth day of August, 1826, pursuant to public advertisement for that purpose,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners deem the time to have arrived when it is their duty to lay before your Majesty a statement of the distressed and alarming condition of a great portion of your Majesty's subjects; of the causes by which your petitioners deem that condition to have been produced; and of those remedies, the timely application of which appears absolutely necessary to prevent, in England, consequences as disastrous as any that ever beset a civilized country.

In discharge, therefore, of this their duty, your petitioners beg leave to state to your Majesty, that this town of Manchester, and the great manufacturing districts, of which it is the centre and the mart, are now suffering under the pressure of distress, which is wholly unexampled in its duration and extent; that this distress has already brought to insol-

vency and ruin great numbers of ingenious and enterprising manufacturers, and dealers, and merchants, whose honest acquisitions had apparently placed them beyond the reach of embarrassment; that it is daily augmenting and multiplying the difficulties of those whom it has not yet overwhelmed; that it has deprived of all employment many thousands of skilful and industrious families of the labouring classes; that it has degraded them into miserable dependants on the scanty pittance furnished by the poor-rates, and by charitable relief; that it is continually adding to the number of claimants for this pittance, while it is also forcing down into the ranks of the necessitous many of the persons by whom the rates have been paid and the relief has been given; that while, from this cause, the legal fund for the poor has been becoming less productive, the fund created by charity is almost totally exhausted; and that thus there is much reason to fear that the approaching winter will see involved in all the horrors of starvation this most thickly-peopled portion of your Majesty's dominions.

Your petitioners presume to represent to your Majesty, their decided opinion, that the alarming distress in the manufacturing districts, cannot be effectually remedied without a change in those laws of this kingdom which forbid the importation of foreign corn, until corn of home growth shall have reached a price which it is impossible for the people of this country to pay; which laws, therefore, amount to a positive exclusion of that corn, and which exclusion operates to the injury of the manufacturing classes, and of the nation at large, in the four following ways:—First, in enhancing prodigiously the prices of the prime necessities of life. Second, in shutting out from British markets all those foreigners, of various nations, whose need of the goods which your Majesty's subjects make, is surpassed only by the need of your Majesty's

subjects of the food which those foreigners offer in exchange. Third, in making it the interest of these nations to encourage, by all possible means, the progress of native manufactures, thereby not only depriving Great Britain of the trade of supplying their wants, but raising them up against her, into most dangerous rivals, in supplying the wants of those other countries, the markets of which are equally open to all; and, Fourth, in introducing the spirit and practice of hazardous adventure into the formerly steady and regular business of all persons concerned in raising or selling the products of the land; thus making the success of the farmer, and the supply of the fruits of the earth, to depend, not on the industry of man, nor on the bounty of the seasons, but upon a system of averages, which is managed so falsely and fraudulently, as to produce the most deceptive and injurious results.

While, however, your Petitioners are ascribing so many evils to the laws against the importation of corn, they cannot refrain from declaring their deliberate opinion, that another most grievous cause of the misery under which the whole body of your Majesty's subjects is suffering, is the enormous amount of taxes levied in this kingdom; an amount which, to its present extent, your petitioners are strongly of opinion is unnecessary for the purpose of a Government anxious only to promote the welfare of your Majesty's people; for your petitioners have learned, by the annual accounts issued by your Majesty's Ministers, that, besides the sums applied in discharge of the interest on the National Debt, a revenue, several times as great as the whole revenue of England a century ago, is expended in the maintenance (*apparently designed to be perpetual,*) of an immense standing army; in the support of what your Majesty's Ministers have denominated the "Dead Weight;" in the payment of largely disproportioned salaries to some of the officers of state; in supplying

by *pensions* and *sinecures*, the means of *extravagance* to great numbers of individuals and families from whom the public have *never received any, the smallest portion of service*; and in various other charges, for which, as your petitioners humbly beg leave to submit to your Majesty, the most prosperous condition that any country ever knew could furnish no excuse, and which, in this country, after the exhaustion of a twenty-five years' war, appear to your humble petitioners, to be as unjustifiable in their principle as they are oppressive and ruinous in their effects.

Your petitioners most humbly state to your Majesty, their full conviction, that the enormous pressure of the Corn-Laws, and of the taxes, has been aggravated to an incalculable extent, by the arbitrary changes in the value of money, produced by the operation of the measure for causing a return to cash payments. Your petitioners, so far from disputing the wisdom or necessity of this measure, have long borne in silence the injury of its immediate consequences, and been willing to make great sacrifices, in order that a circulating medium of full intrinsic value might be established throughout the kingdom. But this great measure, so necessary, so wise, and so just in itself, having been unaccompanied by any remission of taxes, or any alteration of the Corn-Laws, has had the effect of lowering (in many cases to less than one half), the prices of all descriptions of produce, and of goods, except those which the Corn-Laws and the taxes have unnaturally kept up, and of lessening, in like proportion, the income, the profits, and the wages of every man not a landlord, nor a dependant on the taxes.

Seeing, therefore, that the manifold and aggravated evils which your petitioners have humbly set forth to your Majesty, appear to have arisen from those causes to which your petitioners have referred them, your petitioners are firmly of opinion that an adequate and lasting remedy

is to be found only in the repeal (as prompt and effectual as may be consistent with the regard which is due to those interests that have arisen out of the present artificial system, and that depend upon it), of every law which enhances the price of bread, and obstructs the manufacturing and commercial prosperity of Great Britain, and also the immediate abolition of taxes to an amount which your petitioners do not presume to specify, but which, that it may produce the desired results, must be sufficiently great to put an end to all national expenditure beyond that which shall be suited to the altered value of money, and directly conducive to the freedom and greatness of the kingdom. Your petitioners, therefore, most earnestly beseech your Majesty to assemble the Parliament forthwith, and to recommend the immediate adoption of those great measures which, and which only, can, as your petitioners are fully convinced, prevent your suffering but loyal people from being hurried into the perils and the crimes of some *awful convulsion*, and which only can restore permanent prosperity to all parts of your Majesty's dominions.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

The first remark that suggests itself relates to the manner of calling the meeting; and, all that I shall say of it is, that we radicals ought to laugh when we see others thus treated by the Borough-reeve and constables of Manchester. In this sort of way they have treated the *people* long enough. These fellows are, it seems, appointed by the Lord of the manor's

steward, and *selected* by him. He is some attorney, I suppose; so that this Boroughreeve and these constables have a sublime origin at last! The lord of the manor has, however, a *name*, I suppose; and so has this steward; and, if Mr. Baxter had thought proper to give us the names, especially as he thought the rest of the information necessary for general utility, it would have been as well. Mr. Baxter appears to be a blinker at the best; and he may be assured, that he may blink long enough before he will make any impression in the quarter to which he is now addressing himself. The people in that quarter are not to be moved by blinking.

As to the parish officers, I think they acted properly in refusing to meddle with the matter. They have enough to do, God knows, if they will but discharge their proper duties. With regard to the Royal Exchange people they will naturally refuse the use of their rooms for such a purpose, until they be sweated down a little lower, which will be all in good time. In short, there will be no very great change for the better, until their "large room in the Exchange" shall be very much at the service of any body that will condescend to make use of it.

That large room is part of the enormous fungus from which has sprung all this mass of misery; and the sooner the fungus shall be completely eradicated, the better it will be for the country.

But, I object much more to the kind of meeting, than I do to the manner of calling it, or rather the attempted manner of calling it. The meeting ought to have been held in the open air, and to have been a meeting of the people of Manchester, and not of poor-rate payers only. Mr. Baxter endeavours to explain why the meeting was of this exclusive character; and, like most men who have not sincerity for their guide, he makes the matter worse by his attempted explanation. He tells us, that, this exclusive mode was not adopted from any feelings of disrespect towards the people at large, or from any opinion that they were incompetent to the discussion of the subject, "but". . . . but, what, Mr. Baxter? Why, "*it was thought* that an address from that portion of the inhabitants which now composes this assembly, would, in the present state of things, be more likely to have the *desired effect*". . . . Yes, *it was thought*: I do not doubt that; but *why* was it thought? This you leave unex-

plained, Mr. Baxter. "It was
 "thought that it would *disarm* the
 "opponents of the measure, by
 "showing that the resolutions
 "were not carried by that part of
 "the population which is labour-
 "ing under the want of the neces-
 "saries of life." Very good rea-
 soning, Mr. Baxter, if this had
 been a meeting of persons called
 together to pass resolutions rela-
 tive to the raising of money to be
 given to the poor; or for fixing
 the quantity of relief to be given
 to the poor. But, these resolu-
 tions relate to the masters as well
 as to the men; relate to all ranks
 and degrees in the nation; and
 there appears to have been no
 rational ground for the exclusion
 other than that very stupid notion,
 that there would have been less
 weight in the decision of a gene-
 ral meeting than in the decision
 of a meeting selected as this was.
 There were two ways of doing the
 thing, and the worst was chosen.
 Vain is that man who imagines
 that the makers of Corn Bills,
 the fillers of seats, and the eaters
 of taxes, are to be "*disarmed*," as
 Mr. Baxter calls it by *select* bo-
 dies of men. They know too well
 the value of the things they possess
 to be disposed to part with them,
 unless they see the whole body of
 the people bent upon making them

give them up. This was pre-
 cisely the occasion (supposing the
 petitioners to have been sincere)
 for a general meeting; for an
 union between the rich and the
 poor; for a cordial junction be-
 tween the masters and the men;
 and Mr. Baxter and his select
 party should have recollected that
 it was not the masters, not the re-
 spectables, not the ley-payers;
 that it was not these; and that it
 was not men very cautious and
 decorous in their language and
 movements; that it was *none* of
these who induced the Ministers to
let the bonded corn out of bond!
 And Mr. Baxter may be well
 assured, that, for the resolutions
 and the prayings of a body of men
 who talk against standing army,
 pensions, and sinecures, and ex-
 travagance of the receivers of the
 taxes; Mr. Baxter may be very
 well assured that such men, while
 they will be hated by the Ministers
 for what those Ministers will call
 their impudence, will be despised
 by them, when seen severed, by
 their vanity, or their want of
 judgment, from the great body of
 the people.

The people at Whitehall have
 nerves of a peculiar construction.
 They are people not to be moved
 by prayers, unless the prayers be
 accompanied with an attitude not

usually employed in works of sup-
plication. Mr. Baxter seems to
think, that the absence of this at-
titude would be an advantage. In
the answer which he will receive
(if he receive any at all) he will
get a lesson upon this subject
which will be useful to him as
long as he shall live. Oh, no,
Mr. Baxter! You may under-
stand the spinning or weaving or
printing of cottons very well; but
you do not understand how to
tackle the pretty gentlemen of
Whitehall. A very old courtier
said to me, more than twenty
years ago, "There are only two
ways of going to work at White-
hall: you must kiss their
"or *kick* them: the former is the
"easiest and most profitable of
"the two: I have chosen that;
"and I would advise you to do
"the same." Mr. Baxter is not in
a state to kiss: his kiss would not
be worth having: he has kicked;
but, wanting somebody at his
back, his kick will be despised.
It ought to have been a public,
general, open-air meeting. The
newspapers ought to have told us,
that there had been at Manchester
a hundred thousand men assem-
bled, making the sky echo with
their reprobation of standing
armies, pensions, sinecures, and
corn-laws. This would have had

an effect. It would, at one and
the same time, have given an en-
couragement to the people of other
great towns, and have made the
Ministers pay attention to the
prayers of the meeting. As the
thing is, it is in fact one of those
very *hole-and-corner* affairs of
which Mr. Baxter is pleased to
speak in terms of contempt. In
the first place, a very large part of
the people of this kingdom does
not know what the word *ley-payers*
means; and when it is explained
to them that *ley-payers* means
poor-rate payers, they are at a
loss to discover why this capacity
of poor-rate payer should be con-
sidered as the sole qualification
for attending a meeting, which was
to eventuate in a petition, embrac-
ing topics of great general national
importance, affecting every rank
of society, from the royal family,
down to the hedger and the ditcher.
Therefore, in the constitution of
this meeting, there was, in my
opinion, almost every thing that
can be imagined calculated to de-
feat the objects which it professed
to have in view.

As to the matter of the petition
itself, there is no fault to be found,
except with the following words;
"the scanty pittance furnished by
the poor-rates." This would seem
to say that the parish-officers and

magistrates of Lancashire afford the poor but a "*scanty pittance*." The law knows nothing of such scanty pittance; and, in a petition, from *poor-rate payers*, the King ought not to have been told that the poor had from them nothing but a scanty pittance. With regard to the speeches much need not be said; yet, there are some things in them which must not pass unnoticed.

Mr. POTTER's speech is rendered, by its facts, worthy of particular attention. He might have spared us, indeed, his "*great statesman, Mr. BROUGHAM*" and his "*celebrated Mr. BURKE*." This last was, to be sure, a very pretty fellow to rail against over-taxation! and it was peculiarly appropriate to be quoting this man as a "*high authority*," while the speaker was, at the same time, expressing his disapprobation of unmerited pensions and sinecures! But, I forgive Mr. Potter these blunders for the sake of his numerous facts, and for the explicit and manly manner in which he stated them. These facts are, indeed, horrible to think of; but, they are such as necessarily grow out of this system. Mr. Potter is, however, deceived if he imagine that any thing which he seems to comprise under the term severe

economy, can produce a change for the better. There can be no patch-work now. The thing cannot be made a *little* better: the system must be rooted up: the dock-digger must be applied to it, or there can be no remedy. It is a thing that cannot be pruned; and Mr. Potter may be assured, that, while he is content to confine himself to severe economy, the tax-eaters will laugh at his facts, horrible as they are.

LILLY's speech is worthy of notice only for the purpose of expressing one's pleasure at seeing that even in a meeting like this, a yeomanry cavalry man of the 16th of August was not to be suffered. Ah, SIDMOUTH! The THANKS which you conveyed to those yeomanry cavalry were not the last that either you or they were to hear of the memorable 16th of August.

Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH. What, Sir, am I to do with your speech? I do not know you, Sir; I never heard of you before; but why, Mr. Shuttleworth, could you not hold your tongue; or, if you must talk (and nature actually compels some men to keep their tongues moving), why could you not have stopped when you had well enough spoken of the character of the Parliament, and of that particular

class of persons from amongst whom the members come? Why should you, Mr. Shuttleworth, be determined to talk about things of which, apparently, you know no more than the baby at the breast? Why should you bother that (I am sure no very clear) head of yours with a "*claim for indemnity*," which the landlords have on account of particular taxes? Why should you, Mr. Shuttleworth, have pestered your brains, about "*assessments and rates*," and (Oh, good God!) "*that portion of tithe which comes out of the profits of stock*"! Why, for the love of peace and quietness; why, for your wife's sake as well as your own, should you have bothered the brains in that head of yours with such abominable Scotch jargon as this. But, dear Mr. Shuttleworth, what malignant devil was it that led you to talk about "the eminent economist CHARLES SMITH," and his estimate of the consumption of grain in England; and what worse than spiteful devil was it that led you to talk of *authority* found in the estimates of GEORGE CHALMERS, Mr. WESTERN, and Dr. COLQUHOUN; that CHALMERS, according to whose *estimate* on population there were, in the reign of King John, only *twelve able-bodied men*

to every parish church in England; that Mr. WESTERN, who is for restoring the credit of the nation by a grand issue of assignats; and that Dr. COLQUHOUN, according to one of whose estimates every third person in London is, at all times, a fit object to be *animadverted upon by the law*? That same Dr. COLQUHOUN, according to whose other estimate, the national debt, at the end of the war *was nothing*, so great were the resources of the kingdom; that same Dr. COLQUHOUN, who, by this same estimate, misled the foolish creatures at Whitehall, and all the bands of Jolterheads and Lord Charleses in the kingdom? Why should you, my good Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH, quitting the printing of cottons, even at a loss, spend your time in reading the books of these abominable quacks? But, if the waste of your time, good Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH, were all, that, perhaps, one might endure the thought of. It is the discredit, which, by means of putting forth your *learning*, you throw upon the whole of the proceedings upon this occasion; and now I will show you how completely you have effected this object. Taking for gospel what you have read in the works of the above-mentioned worthies, and in returns

laid before Parliament, which latter I have proved to be false, you make certain assertions relative to the population of England, not one word in which assertions has any truth in it. You then proceed, or rather you mix up the following assertions with those just mentioned. You carry on a sort of partnership with these quacks. CHARLES SMITH says, that, in 1765, the grain consumed in England and Wales was *fifteen millions of quarters in a year*, dropping the odd thousands and hundreds. CHALMERS says, that, in 1800, the consumption was *thirty-three millions*. WESTERN says, that, in 1812 and 1814, the consumption was *forty millions*. Dr. COLQUHOUN says the same as WESTERN. Having given us all this rubbish; all this bundle of "*estimates*," you next bring us, or, rather, you display before us, the brilliant products of your own mind. You tell us, that, in the ten years from 1811 to 1821, the population of the kingdom *increased five millions!* Having stated this most monstrous lie, you then seem to try to outdo your own lying, and say that we may safely take the increase of population to have been in proportion to the present time, and that we may safely assume the *increase of the consumption of grain* to have been in proportion to the increase of the population; and that, *therefore*, the present consumption may be fairly taken at **FIFTY-TWO MILLIONS OF QUARTERS!** But, now comes the master-stroke. Now comes the proposition; and, if the like was ever before twisted out of a thick skull by a spinning-jenny, I beg it may be produced,

placed along side of this, printed upon calico, framed and glazed, and hung up in the great room of the Royal Exchange of Manchester. The proposition is this, "that, on the supposition that the price of grain be on an average fifteen shillings a quarter higher in this country than in surrounding countries, then the consumers in this country have to pay to the growers to whom the corn-laws have granted a monopoly of supply, no less annually than *thirty-eight millions sterling over and above what the corn produce alone of this country is worth elsewhere.*" Now, MR. SHUTTLEWORTH, what a monstrous proposition this is will be seen in one minute if we look at these facts: **FIRST**, that the price of grain has been, on an average, more than fifteen shillings a quarter higher than in surrounding countries ever since the Corn-Bill was passed: **SECOND**, that thirty-eight millions was, at the time of the highest prices, the yearly rack-rental of all the land, all the houses, all the mines, all the canals, and all the turnpike-roads, in England and Wales: **THIRD**, that rents are much lower now, than they were in those times of highest prices: **FOURTH**, that the Landlords do not receive from their tenants so much rent as they did in those times of highest prices: **FIFTH**, that the Landlords have no other channel through which to get the thirty-eight millions that you talk of, than the channel of rent. There, MR. SHUTTLEWORTH, make out one or more of these propositions to be false; for, unless you do that, your proposition is a great, star-

ing, stupid, empty lie, unworthy even of the word "*fiction*," which you have unwittingly applied to it.—After this, it is useless to remark on the remaining part of your speech, though I cannot but observe how nicely you make one part of it knock the other part to pieces. You are alarmed at the effect of the Corn-Laws upon the *progress of our population*. In another place you talk of the increase of our wealth of late years; and you forget all the while, that this increase of population, as you call it, and that this growing prosperity, as you call it; you forget all the while, that these, if they have taken place, as you say they have, have taken place, and as you assert too, *to a greater extent since the Corn-Laws have been in existence, than they took place before*. Get out of that hobble, MR. SHUTTLEWORTH, and then I will talk to you again.—It is by conceited babbling men like this that public enterprises are so frequently defeated. All reflecting men will distinguish between this man's babble and the sound sense of the other speakers; but, all that read are not men of sense; and some men of sense are tax-eaters, and it is not their business to make any such distinctions. Here is a man that asserts, that there has been of late years a great deal of prosperity, riches, and power; he asserts that there has been a most monstrous increase of population; and we know, that the Corn-Laws have existed all the while! What does a boroughmongering Corn-Bill man want more than that; and, if this MR. SHUTTLEWORTH had been hired by the Borough-mongers, he could not have done their work better than he did it.

MR. PRENTICE made a speech full of good sense; full of excellent matter; and such, in short, as any man might have been proud to be the author of. That is the sort of speech to produce effect upon the people, and upon the Ministers too.

MR. HARVEY must naturally please me by his manly declaration with regard to myself; but, much more he pleases me by expressing his "*firm conviction*," that we shall neither have a "*repeal of the Corn-Laws nor any material reduction of taxation, until we get a REFORMED PARLIAMENT*!"—And let all the people say *Amen!* It is useless to petition, it is useless to pray, unless that be part of the prayer. It was the cause of the French war: the want of reform was the cause of that war. It has been the cause of every evil that has existed in the country ever since the Septennial Bill was passed. It is the want of this reform that has now produced those effects so well described by Mr. Potter and Mr. Burgess. If these gentlemen had petitioned for reform, there would have been some chance of their producing an effect upon the Government: as it is, they will produce no effect at all. The very best that they will get will be a half civil and four-fifths equivocal answer; and, truth to say, they deserve nothing more. They appear to be in hopes of effecting, in this indirect way, a bank restriction, or some such measure. Such a measure would not produce the effects that they imagine it would; and, besides, there is not the smallest chance of its being adopted. The thing will, in all probability, be pushed along

as far as it will go; and, when it will go no farther, the change must come. These gentlemen might have done a great deal; but they have still too much of the buckram in them: they must have that taken out of them: they must be ready to drink a pot of ale with their workmen, before they will act in a manner such as their necessities will require. The working people in this country have been oppressed, and are oppressed almost beyond conception. They must be lifted from this state of oppression. I pray God that it may be by peaceable means; by means which shall injure the hair of the head of no man; but, I would sooner be annihilated than abandon the hope of seeing them raised from this horrible state of degradation.

WM. COBBETT.

RURAL RIDE.

Burghclere, (Hants),
Monday, 21st Aug. 1826.

I SET off from Kensington on Friday morning, on my way to the WEST, and got to SUNNING, near Reading, on Friday afternoon. On Saturday we (two sons and myself) stopped at Reading, it being market-day, to take a look about us. *Wheat* about 6s. 6d. the Winchester bushel, on an average. *Barley* and *Oats* dearer in proportion. *Pease*, there appears to be none; and very few *beans*. I went to the pig-market. A store-pig, six months old, was worth 20s. and no more; and that is very cheap. A hog, a year old, not worth more than 40s. The farmers are in a *devilish fright*! It is *touch and go* with them now. In short, it is only by a merciless

grinding of the labourers that they are now enabled to pay any rent at all; and, this grinding does not, in the *end*, answer its purpose; for, the labourers fall upon the poor-rates; and, if, by means of STURGES BOURNE'S Bills, and of other grinding contrivances, the labourers be pushed to the *verge of starvation*, they TAKE without money and without leave; that sends them to *gaol*, and *there* they have, in this part of the country, MEAT THREE TIMES A WEEK, which, generally speaking, is three times a week *OFTENER* than they can get it by *honest labour*! So that the farmers and land-owners get nothing, in the *end*, by pushing the thing too far.

But, this is not all: there are *ricks, barns, plantations, heaths, and moors*; and there is FIRE! The newspapers are full of accounts of destruction in this way. They daily tell us of these "works of some wicked incendiary." But to call these fire-makers *names* is of no use. It would be much more rational to go coolly to work to find out the *motives* of such evil-doers; for, observe, they *must* have a motive. It is impossible that they should not have a motive. They do not stay to *warm themselves* by the fires. Indeed, the weather is, at this time, but too hot. Why, not endeavour, then, to find out the *motive*, and to remove the grounds of such motive, since the motive produces consequences so very serious? The MOORS and PLANTATIONS, which have been recently burned in the North, were, the newspapers tell us, *set on fire by poachers*! Indeed! But, what is a poacher? For that is a question worth asking. Why, a poacher

is a man, who goes in search of, and either catches, or endeavours to catch; or, who picks up in a field, or in a road; or who has on his person or in his house, any one of those *wild animals* which are *nobody's property*, and which are called, *hares, pheasants, or partridges*. That is "*a poacher*," to punish whom there have, *of late years*, been many *new* and most *cruel laws* passed. Now, in order to prevent the *plantations* and *moors* from being set fire to, would it not be as well to *try a little* what a *repeal of these new laws* would do?

In short, there is *no* safety for property of any sort, if you push severity and pinching beyond a certain point. They have long been pushed to the utmost extent that they will bear. They can go no further: it is even now matter of *taste* with the labourers, which is best, *gaol* or *the fields*; *Botany Bay*, or *England*. As to *character* and *love of country*; these have no existence in company with thoughts constantly bent on the means of satisfying the cravings of hunger.

The farmers, who know that they *cannot screw down the labourers any lower*, are now in a great fright. They are scared at the thought of a repeal of the Corn-Laws; for, as to a relief from a *repeal of taxes*, they never think of it, and a great part of the richer ones of them would *dislike that mode of relief*. If they can get *high prices*, they do not object to *high taxes*; for these have a tendency to *keep up the present system*; and this is a system that *they like*. This is what I mean to say: That, if one of these bull-frog farmers could clear 500l. a year, with taxes so high as to make beer 6d. a pot, he

would **RATHER DO IT**, than clear the *same sum* with taxes so low as to make beer 2d. a pot. This may, at first sight, seem strange to those who are unacquainted with this race of men; but it is impossible for any thing to be more correct. Therefore, we ought to *think* a long while, before we feel sorrow for the fall of such men. In fact, the present horrible state of things never could have come upon us, had it not been for the horses and sabres of these very men! They are dreadfully *frightened now*: they see what is going on about the *Corn Bill*: they think of nothing but *price*: they will pay *rent* to the last moment: and, though they will be more *spiteful* towards the labourers, they **MUST KEEP THEM**, even if the thought burst, or rather crack, their callous hearts.

To my great surprise, I have, in these sixty odd miles, from London to this place, found the *TURNIPS*, of both sorts, *by no means bad*; and I really expected to find hardly any! There is a great quantity of *stubble-land* sown with turnips, *the crops being off so early*. So that, as far as I have yet seen the country, I think that there will be no deficiency in the winter food; and when the rains come the grass will grow at a great rate, and will make food abundant till Christmas. I hear no complaints about the crops, except as to oats, pease, and beans. *Apples*, all the way that I have come, are a very good crop; and wherever there are *grapes*, they are abundant in crop and *nearly ripe*, while the *filberts* are ripe *a full month earlier than usual*.

This is, surely, the *fin* at year

that ever was known. Near Newbury, they are now making the second crop of meadow hay! There will not be a handful of spoiled hay, or a gallon of spoiled corn, in the whole kingdom. They have finished harvest in Scotland about a month sooner than the usual time of finishing in England! Yet will this year be a most terrible one for the labourers. The work is now done. The farmer has his crops in, and the labourer has to live as he can. He must come to the poor-book, that is to say, to the *smallest possible means of keeping him alive and enabling him to crack stones*; or, in other words, to *as little as he can be induced to regard as making his hovel preferable to a gaol, and as making England preferable to Botany Bay!* Oh! "Envy of surrounding nations!" Oh! "Admiration of the world!"

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending August 12.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	57	2	Rye	43	6
Barley ..	32	1	Beans ...	46	6
Oats	27	3	Pease ...	57	3

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the Week ended August 12.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	31,621	Rye	210
Barley ..	1,864	Beans ...	1,620
Oats ...	11,152	Pease ...	1,035

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	50s. — 55s.
— Seconds	42s. — 46s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 43s.

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, August 12.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	6,019 for	17,978	4	5	Average,	59	8
Barley..	281 ..	444	11	8	.....	31	7
Oats..	5,185 ..	7,667	0	7	.....	29	6
Rye...	16 ..	33	7	2	.....	41	8
Beans ..	909 ..	2,137	16	5	.....	47	0
Pease ..	711 ...	2,218	18	2	.....	62	4

Friday, Aug. 18.—To this morning's market the fresh supplies are small. The best samples of Wheat fully maintained Monday's terms; in other sorts very little trade. Barley is held at higher prices, but the buyers purchase reluctantly. Beans and Pease look upwards, being very scarce. The demand for Oats is limited, and the supply proportionately less; the prices are therefore further enhanced 1s. to 2s. per qr.

Monday, Aug. 21.—There were last week short quantities of all sorts of Grain and Flour reported; and this morning the fresh supplies are not considerable, consisting chiefly of Wheat samples, the growth of this year, which come dry, though in general not stout.

The best parcels of Old Wheat met a ready sale at last quotations, but middling and inferior descriptions are neglected. The samples of New Wheat experience a slow sale, but the best of them are not quoted any lower.—Rye is greatly in demand for Seed, at a considerable advance in value.

Barley is advanced 1s.; Beans and Grey Pease, each 1s. per quarter. Boiling Pease have a slow sale at last quotations. Oats are not a free sale, but the supply is so scanty that a further advance of full 2s. per quarter has been obtained since this day se'nnight. In Flour no alteration. High prices are asked for Winter Tares, with few buyers at present.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from Aug. 14 to Aug. 19, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	3,308	Tares	85
Barley ..	287	Linseed ..	—
Malt....	1,967	Rapeseed..	109
Oats	2,332	Brank ..	—
Beans ...	702	Mustard..	77
Flour....	4,904	Flax	—
Rye.....	18	Hemp ...	—
Pease....	970	Seeds ...	57
Foreign.—Wheat, 1,566; Oats, 8,902; and Beans, 295 quarters.			

Price of Hops, per Cwt. in the Borough.

Monday, Aug. 21.—The Hops continue in a fine growing state: the general picking commences in about ten days. The present estimated Duty is 220,000*l*. Prices of old are nominal.

Another Account from the Borough.

Monday, Aug. 21.—The accounts from the Hop plantations from all districts continue to come very favourable, which causes the prices of Hops to be quite nominal, as the buyers are all waiting for the new crop. The market has been supplied with one pocket of New Hops, from Kent, which has been sold for 10*l*. per cwt.

Maidstone, Aug. 17.—All accounts this week are favourable to the improvement, if possible, of the Hops. The plantations round this neighbourhood present a most beautiful appearance, and are getting very forward for plucking. Duty advancing, and called from 215,000*l*. to 220,000*l*.

Worcester, Aug. 16.—On Saturday 140 pockets, and yesterday (fair day) 38 pockets were weighed in our market; 1825's from 5*l*. to 6*l*. The accounts from the Plantation leave no doubt that the produce must be large: the flea has partially appeared in a few places. Some planters think they shall commence picking in a fortnight.

Monday, Aug. 21.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were 89 bales of Bacon, and no Butter; and from Foreign Ports, 6,524 casks of Butter.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Aug. 21.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	6	to	4 3
Mutton ...	3	8	—	4 6
Veal	4	8	—	5 4
Pork	4	0	—	4 8
Lamb	4	8	—	5 4
Beasts ...	2,339	Sheep ..	22,490	
Calves ...	256	Pigs ...	120	

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef ...	3	4	to	4 4
Mutton ...	3	4	—	4 2
Veal	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	3	8	—	5 8
Lamb	4	0	—	5 0

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	2	to	4 2
Mutton ...	3	2	—	4 2
Veal	3	4	—	5 4
Pork	4	0	—	5 8
Lamb	3	4	—	5 0

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4*lb*. Loaf is stated at 9*d*. by the full-priced Bakers.

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Cwt.				
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Ware.....	3	0	to	4 6
Middlings.....	2	6	—	0 0
Chats.....	2	3	—	0 0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0 0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.				

BOROUGH, per Cwt.				
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Ware.....	3	0	to	4 6
Middlings.....	2	0	—	0 0
Chats.....	1	6	—	1 9
Common Red..	0	0	—	0 0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....		80s. to 110s.
Straw...		34s. to 36s.
Clover, 100s. to 130s.		
St. James's.—Hay....		65s. to 126s.
Straw ..		30s. to 36s.
Clover..		120s. to 140s.
Whitechapel.—Hay....		84s. to 90s.
Straw...		34s. to 40s.
Clover..		90s. to 130s.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

	Wheat.			Barley.			Oats.			Beans.			Pease.		
	s.	to	s. d.	s.	to	s. d.	s.	to	s. d.	s.	to	s. d.	s.	to	s. d.
Aylesbury	52	60	0	36	40	0	33	35	0	44	54	0	0	0	0
Banbury	50	56	0	37	38	6	36	38	0	54	56	0	0	0	0
Basingstoke	48	60	0	33	38	0	27	32	0	50	55	0	0	0	0
Bridport.....	54	58	0	30	32	0	26	28	0	54	56	0	0	0	0
Chelmsford.....	52	72	0	30	35	0	28	36	0	44	48	6	50	62	0
Derby.....	58	64	0	36	44	0	28	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Devizes.....	42	62	0	35	35	6	32	38	0	35	38	0	0	0	0
Dorchester.....	48	62	0	29	34	0	26	34	0	52	64	0	0	0	0
Exeter.....	64	0	0	34	36	0	29	32	0	28	32	0	0	0	0
Eye	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guildford.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Henley	50	68	0	30	36	0	26	32	0	52	58	0	50	56	0
Horncastle.....	48	52	0	30	36	0	26	30	0	50	52	0	0	0	0
Hungerford.....	48	61	0	32	38	0	26	36	0	56	61	0	0	0	0
Lewes.....	52	62	0	0	0	0	29	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newbury	48	62	0	35	36	0	29	34	0	56	58	0	0	0	0
Northampton....	52	58	0	34	37	0	25	29	0	50	52	0	52	53	0
Nottingham	57	0	0	30	0	0	29	0	0	52	0	0	0	0	0
Reading	58	67	0	34	35	0	28	36	0	50	55	0	48	54	0
Stamford.....	50	56	0	36	39	0	26	33	0	51	0	0	0	0	0
Stowmarket	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Swansea.....	72	0	0	36	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Truro	57	0	0	39	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uxbridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Warminster.....	48	57	0	30	37	0	28	33	0	56	60	0	0	0	0
Winchester.....	56	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalkeith*	30	37	0	24	27	0	0	0	0	27	30	0	27	30	0
Haddington*	28	34	0	23	28	0	24	29	6	24	28	0	22	26	0

* Dalkeith and Haddington are given by the *boll*.—The Scotch *boll* for Wheat, Rye, Pease, and Beans, is three per cent. more than 4 bushels. The *boll* of Barley and Oats, is about 6 bushels Winchester, or as 6 to 8 compared with the English *quarter*.

Liverpool, Aug. 15.—During the past week W heats, both new and old were sparingly purchased, at the prices last quoted. Oats and Barley, which are scarce, were sold at a small advance. Flour and Oatmeal improved in value, 1s. per 280 lbs. on the former, and 2s. to 3s. per 240 lbs. on the latter. At this day's market, although a decline of about 3d. per 70 lbs. was submitted to, sales were very limited for new British and Irish W heats, and Foreign scarcely sustained late prices. Oats and Barley were in good demand, at an advance of about 2d. per bushel, and fine sweet Oatmeal was very brisk sale, at the annexed quotations. Beans and Pease were each somewhat dearer.

Imported into Liverpool from the 8th to 14th August, 1826, inclusive:—Wheat, 16,598; Barley, 456; Oats, 5,870; Rye, 1,156; Malt, 4,036; Beans, 893; and Pease, 47 quarters. Flour, 5 sacks, per 280 lbs. Oatmeal, 1,333 packs, per 240 lbs. American Flour, 1,309 barrels.

Guildford, Aug. 19.—Wheat, old, 12l. to 17l. 15s.; ditto, new, for meal-ing, 15l. to 17l. per load. Barley, 30s. to 36s.; Oats, 30s. to 37s.; Beans, 48s. to 56s.; and Pease, grey, 50s. to 56s. per quarter.

Norwich, Aug. 19.—We had a liberal supply of both Old and New Wheat at market to-day. New Red sold from 46s. to 51s.; White, to 54s.; Old Red, 48s. to 53s.; White ditto, to 56s. Of Barley, we had a considerable quantity offered, prices from 30s. to 36s.; Oats, 22s. to 28s.; Old Beans, 44s. to 48s.; Grey Pease, 40s. to 46s.; Old ditto, to 47s.; New White Boilers, to 60s. per quarter; and Flour, 43s. to 44s. per sack.

Bristol, Aug. 19.—The supplies of Corn, &c. here continue moderate. Little business is doing, and the present prices are about as below quoted:—Wheat from 5s. 3d. to 7s. 6d.; Barley, 3s. 3d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. 9d. to 3s. 10½d.; Beans, 4s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.; and Malt, 5s. 3d. to 8s. 6d. per bushel, Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 37s. to 47s. per bag.

Ipswich, Aug. 19.—We had again to-day a very small market. Very little old Corn, and only a few samples of New. Prices as follow:—Wheat, old, 54s. to 60s.; New ditto, 54s. to 60s.; Barley, 30s. to 33s.; Beans, 46s. to 48s.; and Pease, 48s. per quarter.

Wisbech, Aug. 19.—The quantity of Grain offered to-day was small, and Wheat, Oats, and Beans, were each from 1s. to 2s. per quarter dearer. —Red Wheat, 50s. to 56s.; White ditto, 56s. to 58s.; Oats, 24s. to 30s.; and Beans, 46s. to 48s. per quarter.

Manchester, Aug. 19.—We have had a fair demand during the week for most articles in the trade, and in a few instances higher prices have been obtained. This day's market was moderately attended, but the show of samples was extremely limited; and those of Spring Corn quite inadequate to the demand. Wheat sold rather better, at a trifling improvement.—Oats still continue extremely scarce, and were much inquired for, at an advance of 4d. to 5d. per bushel.—Beans are in request, at a further advance of 1s. per qr.—Barley commands 3d. per bushel more than last week's rates, and very little offering.—Malt and Flour is the turn lower.—Oatmeal is full 1s. per load dearer, and moves off readily.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, Aug. 19.—We had rather a short supply of Wheat from the farmers this morning, which was readily taken off by the millers, at 1s. per quarter advance. Rye is rather more in demand, and prices have advanced 2s. per quarter. Grinding Barley is getting scarce, and is dearer 1s. to 2s. per qr. Fine Malt is 1s. to 2s. per quarter dearer. We had a very short supply of Oats, which sold readily, at 1s. and 2s. per qr. advance,

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Normich Castle Mendow, Aug. 19.—We had not a single lot of fat cattle to this day's market, but a considerable supply of all sorts of Store Stock. A very few Scots were sold at about 4s. per stone, when fat. Short Horns, 3s. to 3s. 6d.; Cows and Calves, also Homebreds of all sorts, a very slow sale. Pigs selling more readily.

Manchester, Aug. 16.—We had a tolerable supply of Cattle to this day's market, which were sold much about the same as last week. The show of Sheep and Lambs being rather plentiful went off slowly, and barely support our currency. Pigs were scarce, and in general realized a trifling advance.—Beef, 4½d. to 5½d.; Mutton, 4½d. to 5½d.; Lamb, 3½d. to 4½d.; Veal, 5½d. to 6½d.; and Pork, 4d. to 5d. per pound, sinking offal.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended August 12, 1826.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*	62	0	30	2	28	3
Essex	60	5	33	6	27	5
Kent	58	6	31	0	29	2
Sussex	55	8	0	0	27	1
Suffolk	55	5	31	8	28	5
Cambridgeshire	54	3	0	0	25	6
Norfolk	53	0	28	0	22	11
Lincolnshire	54	8	35	10	24	0
Yorkshire	54	8	33	3	24	6
Durham	57	0	38	0	20	1
Northumberland	57	9	32	2	28	5
Cumberland	63	0	35	5	29	3
Westmoreland	68	4	41	0	35	8
Lancashire	61	4	0	0	30	0
Cheshire	63	0	0	0	26	10
Gloucestershire	57	10	41	2	32	4
Somersetshire	60	0	36	0	28	4
Monmouthshire	61	10	30	4	0	0
Devonshire	60	3	34	3	29	3
Cornwall	63	3	34	5	29	1
Dorsetshire	66	11	35	0	30	6
Hampshire	56	2	37	0	0	0
North Wales	64	6	41	10	30	10
South Wales	59	7	34	0	26	10

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.